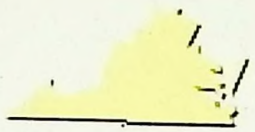
Robert Beverley
Historian of Virgina



Robert Beverley Historian of Virginia

1. Robert Beverley, The Historian Of Virginia
   From Virginia Historical Magizine

2. Diary of William Beverley

ROBERT BEVERLEY, THE HISTORIAN OF VIRGINIA

[The material for the following paper was assembled as the basis for a short notice which will be included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, now in preparation under the auspices of a Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies. It is here printed in order to make available in Virginia the detailed examination it rehearses of Beverley's participation in Virginia politics, in which respect it supplements Dr. Stanard's notice of the historian in *Va. Mag.*, iii, 170, . F. H.]

Robert Beverley, jr. (1673?-1722), historian of Virginia, was the second son of that first Robert Beverley (1641?-1687), representative of a 'cavalier' family of the minor gentry of Yorkshire[1] who had emigrated to Virginia in 1663, and there played a conspicuous part in quelling Bacon's Rebellion and subsequently as one of the organizers of the 'country party,'

[1] The only Virginia evidence for the origin of the immigrant Robert Beverley, is the note made by his parson in the parish register at the time of his burial, that he was 'of Yorkshire' (*Christ Church Parish Register*, p. 32). That he came of a 'cavalier' family is Dr. Stanard's fair deduction from his own statement (Hening, iii, 258) that his heart had been filled from his youth up with loyalty to his king. The tradition (which Robert MacKenzie Beverley certified to Burke for his *Landed Gentry* early in the nineteenth century) that the immigrant sold to the Pennyman family an inheritance near the town of Beverley in Yorkshire, is not borne out by any records; on the contrary, the pedigree of 'Warton of Beverley Parks' (Poulson, *Beverlac*, 1829, p. 499) shows that the Pennymans acquired the Beverley Parks estate by marriage with the heiress of the Wartons, who had held that property from the time of Henry VIII. A casual examination of the Yorkshire records now in print suggests, however, that research, especially among parish registers, might establish definitely the origin of the Virginia Beverleys; for there is Yorkshire evidence for a family of Beverleys who had belonged to the minor gentry since the Reformation, when they acquired lands on the dissolution of the monasteries. Originally burgesses of the town of Beverley, whence they derived their name, and later of the town of Selby, they were, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, seated at Westow in the East Riding and at Great Smeaton in the North Riding; where they were ruined by their loyalty to the Crown in the Civil Wars, lost their lands and disappeared from the English records (Yorkshire Archeological Society, *Record Series*, xviii, p. 120; Victoria

which introduced Whig politics into the colony.[2] The future historian was born on his father's original dwelling plantation on the Pianketank in Middlesex; his mother being the dau. of a Hull merchant and the widow of George Keeble, an early Middlesex planter. He was sent for education to England; where he was when his father died and for some time

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County History, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, i, 198; Dugdale's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, 1665, in Surtees Society, xxxvi, 35). The Virginia immigrant was certainly not of the Great Smeaton family, which is fully accounted for; and, moreover, his grandson denied (*Va. Mag.*, iii, 52) that he bore the arms which Dugdale had confirmed to that family; but it is quite possible that he came out of the Westow household. There is a clew in the marriages of a Thomas and a William Beverley of Westow in 1639 and 1640, respectively, noted in Yorkshire Archaeological Society, *Record Series*, xl, pp. 142, 162.

[2] The notice of the first Robert Beverley by Burk (*History of Virginia*, ii, 240), followed by the collection of the then available documents for him by Hening (*Statutes*, iii, 541), proves that during the American Revolution Virginia looked back on the immigrant Beverley as a protomartyr of resistance to arbitrary government by the Crown; but he has fared ill at the hands of the modern school of historians of the American colonies, who are in reaction against the extreme 'patriotism' of the nineteenth century. They have taken at par the animadversions upon Beverley in the memorials from Gloucester following Bacon's Rebellion, and in the despatches of Secretary Nicholas Spencer during the plant cutting in 1682. On that consideration Dr. Stanard's philosophical notice of Beverley (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 405) is the more welcome. Writing in 1894, Dr. Stanard supplemented Hening's documents with the Sainsbury Abstracts from the Public Record Office in London, material which has since been published more fully in the *Calendar of State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1681-85. A review of those papers, with the full journals of the Council and House, now available in the editions of the Virginia State Library, must convince any candid mind that the charges maintained against Beverley in 1682 by Nicholas Spencer and Nathaniel Bacon of the Council were disingenuous: one is persuaded that he was selected as a scapegoat to excuse the failure of the provincial government to maintain order during Lord Culpeper's absence. The best evidence of this is the official dispatch by Sir Henry Chicheley of August 10, 1682 (*Am. & W. I.*, 1681-85, No. 649), written by one who had long known Beverley well, being his neighbour in Middlesex, viz:

> 'Some of the Council say to my face that I called this Assembly by advice of Major Beverley, who is now in custody on suspicion of raising the late insurrection. They resolve to keep him in close confinement, but so far can allege nothing material against him except some idle words let fall in his cups, on which occasions he is not *compos mentis*. I am sure his behavior in Bacon's Rebellion was far better than that of the best of his accusers [*a shrewd dig at Spencer*]. I thought right to bring this to your notice for I am sure he has been sufficiently blacked in England.'

To this may be added Lord Culpeper's comment in 1683 (*ibid.*, No. 1258, p. 496):

thereafter.[a] When he returned to Virginia he at once enrolled himself (*Journals H. B.*, 1696-1702, p. 10) a volunteer scrivener in the provincial Secretary's office. Here his parts recommended him to his father's friends in the Assembly, with the result that in March, 1692/3, his petition for appointment as Clerk of a legislative committee was approved (*Journals H. B.*, 1660-93, pp. 414, 419) and he was launched on an official career. By 1696 he had achieved the important posts of Clerk of the General Court, Clerk of the Council, and Clerk of the General Assembly (*Council Journal*, i, 285, 350, 353), thereby serving the Council in all its three functions, judicial, executive and legislative.

Under his father's will he inherited a plantation on Poropotank in Gloucester, and by the early death of two younger half-brothers, John and Thomas, this portion was supplemented by a 'great tract' of 6,000 acres of frontier land on the upper waters of the Mattapony, which his father had patented in 1669 (*Patents*, 6: 225) and in his will named Beverley Park. He soon sold the Poropotank lands (he is not listed in the Petsworth quit rent roll 1704); but held on to Beverley Park, which was to be his ultimate residence, cultivating it as a quarter (see the King & Queen quit rent roll 1704) and using it as the basis for soliciting appointments, by his father's neighbour, Secretary Wormeley, to be Clerk of King & Queen; in

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'The prompt action of Nicholas Spencer and Major General Smith in securing the person of Robert Beverley had done more than anything to keep the peace. It was lucky for Beverley, too, for I could find no evidence against him except for general sauciness.'

[a] The evidence for the historian's education in England is a charge to his father's estate in 1694 of payments made to 'Mr. Micajah Perry and Thomas Lane [merchants in London] for entertaining and accommodating' him in England (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 413). It does not appear more definitely where he was at school; but as several of his descendants (*Va. Mag.*, xxi, 213; and *cf.* Neill, *The Fairfaxes of England and America*, 1868, p. 76) were educated at Beverley Grammar School (one of the oldest schools in England, 'still going strong' with a direct tradition of more than 800 years from the time of King Athelstan. See A. F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, 1899, in Yorkshire Archeological Society, *Record Series*, xxvii, pp. xxxix-lvi), it is possible that the historian, too, had that advantage. Indeed, his father, the immigrant, may also have been at Beverley Grammar School and have brought thence to Virginia the name 'Beverley Park,' which he gave to his patent on the Mattapony. Unfortunately, no seventeenth and eighteenth century school lists have survived.

which capacity he is recorded 1699 and 1702. He did not then reside in King & Queen however; his major political duties requiring his attendance at the Statehouse, he acquired, in 1694, a lot in Jamestown (indicated by his name on S. H. Yonge's historical map of Jamestown, 1907) and there established his residence. It was on this footing that he was, in 1699, elected the burgess for the capital and sat in the Assemblies of 1699, 1700-02, and 1705-06. Because of their limited constituency, the recent burgesses for Jamestown had served without the allowances customarily made to members by the counties, but during his second term Beverley demanded and sought to compel that honorarium; with the result that Jamestown returned no burgess for the Assembly of 1703-05. Beverley did not himself suffer for, on the organization of the House for that term, he secured the appointment (*Council Journal,* ii, 300) of the well paid office of Clerk of the House of Burgesses, a post already held by his uncle Peter, his father, and his brother Peter. In that capacity, by showing resourcefulness and readiness to do heavy committee work, he laid the foundation for a bid for the Speakership, unsuccessful by a few votes, when he had composed his difficulty with his constituents and was returned for the ensuing Assembly.

During this period Beverley acquired a stake in Elizabeth City, and in 1700 (*Council Journal,* ii, 126) was added to the quorum in the commission of the peace for that county. He was granted a patent for Point Comfort Island (which the government eventually bought back from his son, when Fort George, the predecessor of Fortress Monroe, was under construction) and he took title by purchase to two adjacent plantations.

In the event the title so acquired in Elizabeth City proved defective and Beverley was involved in a bitter and protracted litigation, ultimately carried on appeal to the Privy Council in England (*Selden v. Turner and Beverley, W. & M. Quar.,* ix, 83; *Acts P. C.* Colonial, ii. 446). It was for this business that he certified to the Council on June 14, 1703 (*Council Journal,* ii, 330) that 'his necessary affairs required his going for England with the first conveniencie,' and secured a pass;

but was required, contrary to his plan, to resign as Clerk of the House of Burgesses.

His sojourn in London during eighteen months cost him heavily in fortune and official reputation, for he not only lost his lawsuit but, by writing indiscreet letters on public affairs, incurred the bitter enmity of Governor Nicholson (*Council Journal,* ii, pp. 391, 414), who promptly deprived him of his sinecure office as Clerk of King & Queen. What was more serious, he lead the Assembly into an address to the Crown preferring what proved to be frivolous charges against Robert Quarry, the Surveyor General of Customs (*Journals H. B.,* 1703-12, pp. 49, 93, 116; *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1706-08, pp. 22, 28). It was, however, that sojourn in London which achieved Beverley's enduring reputation, for it was then and there that he wrote his *History and Present State of Virginia.*

In the preface of the second (1722) edition of this book Beverley explains that he was moved to authorship by a bookseller in London who invited his criticism of the MS. of Oldmixon's *British Empire in America,* while it was under consideration for the press; in which he found the account of Virginia jejune, inaccurate, and inadequate. His statement of his equipment for such criticism is that he had with him notes made, for his own use, from 'the public records of my country' during the years he worked among those records; and it may be observed that his sources, now available to us, amply bear out Beverley's claim that he was familiar with them. It appears from the journals of the House of Burgesses that he had been diligent in transcribing, for preservation, the older muniments in the Secretary's office; that after the fire which destroyed the last Statehouse at Jamestown in 1698, it was he who saved, and subsequently re-classified, the accumulated state papers which had been stored in that building; and that to this experience he added the constructive education in the Virginia political tradition implicit in protracted service on the select committee of Council and House which produced the Revisal of the Laws, enacted in 1705; which Virginia lawyers agree was the best piece of work of its kind produced before the American Revolution. What he did not claim is that, pending

his weary waiting on the slow processes of the Privy Council, he had ample leisure for authorship.

For two centuries Beverley's little book has been acclaimed for its lively style, its shrewd observation, its independent judgments, and, most of all, for its originality as owing nothing to contemporary English literary historical style. It is, indeed, a thoroughly American book, racy of Virginia, and opens a wide window upon a period of the colony for which there are few literary testimonies. If Thomas Jefferson found that Beverley's political annals are 'as concise as Stith is prolix,' this animadversion was perhaps not so much disapprobation as a lament, which we echo today, that there is not more; certain it is that as contemporary documents have become available, Beverley has been substantiated in details for which the first modern historians sneered at him; e. g., his account of the capitulation of Virginia to the Commonwealth in 1651. To the value of the other parts of the book there are also competent witnesses. The distribution of three French editions proves the recognition by European scientific opinions of the notes on Virginia flora and fauna; while the specialist editors of the modern standard *Handbook of American Indians* have, without material cavil, checked Beverley's descriptions of the Rappahannock natives against their own observations of the Amerind; and, finally, no subsequent writer on colonial society in the South has been able to avoid quotation of Beverley's searching comments on the habits and customs of the Virginians of his time. In that last respect this book fairly ranks with the writings of the author's more celebrated brother-in-law, William Byrd of Westover.

As a consequence of the rebuke, under the sign manual of Queen Anne herself, which he had brought down upon the Assembly, Beverley suffered political eclipse after his return to Virginia. He lost his seat in the House and had no further effective share in the general government. Still living privately at Jamestown for some years, the Assembly did, indeed, turn to him in 1710 for a special expert clerical service in an emergency (*Journals H. B.*, 1703-12, p. 258), but, though he avowed that he was 'always Ready to serve the Country and this

House,' he stipulated for a fee which the burgesses deemed exorbitant. In 1715 he offered himself once more a candidate for the Jamestown seat, but was unsuccessful at the election and in a subsequent contest (*ibid.*, 1712-26, pp. 140, 141). At this new rebuff he seems to have retired definitely to Beverley Park, in what was then still the wilderness of the Middle Neck. At all events, he sold his Jamestown property (Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 265) and thenceforth appears as a resident of the county of King & Queen, which had been organized in 1691 to include most of the Beverley Park Property. Theretofore maintained as a frontier 'quarter,' Beverley had made of this estate merely a place of vacation sojourn. Thus, soon after Nott had superseded Nicholson as governor, the King & Queen County Court, conscious of having been used as a tool by Nicholson in depriving Beverley of his Clerkship of that County (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1704-05, p. 302), recommended that he be included in their commission, but he was left out at his own request, representing that 'he is not at present a resident in that county.' The rattlesnake and other nature stories introduced into the second edition of the *History* show, nevertheless, that he was now frequently on the frontier; indeed, in January, 1707/8, writing to President Jenings from the 'upper parts of King & Queen,' during an alarm of an incursion by the Tuscarora indians, he offered to 'infort' his house there for the protection of his neighbours (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 110).

After the arrival of Spotswood, Beverley cultivated the acquaintance of that energetic governor and soon found himself once more in executive favor. Spotswood appointed him to be one of the 'Tobo agents' under the abortive act of 1714, and it was in Spotswood's interest and with his support that he contested the Jamestown seat in 1715. Thereafter Spotswood appointed him to a committee for licensing attorneys and, in 1718, after he had declared his residence in King & Queen, to be 'first' or president in the King & Queen commission. It was in consideration of these evidences of favor and friendship that Beverley paid respectful and discriminating compliments to Spotswood in the dedication of his *Abridgement*.

He had meanwhile turned his attention to agricultural experiment, especially to the creation of a producing vineyard. In 1709 this had so far succeeded as to justify a report to the Lords of Trade (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1708-09, p. 565) that everybody in Virginia was talking of it, while in June, 1715, John Fontaine, inspecting the vineyard and testing its product at a hospitable table, reported (*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, Putnam's reprint, p. 265) that Beverley was in a fair way to win a bet of a thousand guineas by producing at the seventh season 700 gallons of wine of his own growth; an accomplishment of which he himself boasts in the 1722 edition of the *History*.

The chief events of the remainder of his life were in association with Spotswood. That he accompanied the governor on the transmontane expedition in the summer of 1716 is now accepted as proved; for although it has been questioned whether it was he or his brother Harry who was the 'Mr. Beverley' named by John Fontaine in his *Journal* as one of the original Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, it would seem that Beverley's own testimony is conclusive. In the preface to the 1722 edition of his *History* he challenges Oldmixon's statement, based on 'some old maps,' that the York and Rappahannock rivers 'issue out of low marshes and not from the mountains as other rivers;' and justifies his contradiction by a claim of first hand knowledge, saying: 'I was with our present governor at the head springs of both those rivers, and their fountains are in the highest ridge of mountains.' More than that, it appears from the recitals of a deed of record in Spotsylvania that he was Spotswood's original partner in the famous 'Design of melting and casting of iron,' which earned for Spotswood the title of the Tubal Cain of Virginia.

The new edition of the *History* was, however, Beverley's occupation during the last year of his life. His purpose was, on reflection, to tone down those tart and controversial judgments upon his contemporaries which make the edition of 1705 more amusing to posterity than they can have been to Beverley's contemporary kinsmen and neighbours. He took that occasion also to prepare for publication the private abridgment of the lo-

cal laws and clerical precedents which, like other Virginians (*teste* William Fitzhugh, Philip Ludwell, and, later John Mercer), he had compiled for his own use in the lack of an official publication of the material necessary to the working magistrate. Having done that work, his political ambition flamed again. He offered himself and secured an election as a burgess for King & Queen in the Assembly of 1720-22, but he does not appear to have sat; at all events, a writ was issued on May 9, 1722, for a new election 'in the room of Robert Beverley, Gentl. deceased' (*Journals H. B.*, 1712-26, p. 321). His son later testified (*Va. Mag.*, xxii, 300) that he died at Beverley Park, April 21, 1722, and was there buried. He left a will (it is referred to in *Journals H. B.*, 1712-26, pp. 337, 353), which is lost with the records either of the General Court or of King & Queen County; but it appears from entail acts of 1722 and 1766 (Hening, iv, 116; viii, 227) and the Land Patent books that he had steadily increased his inheritance and passed on to his son one of the largest landed estates in contemporary Virginia.

Robert Beverley, jr., married Ursula, second daughter of the first William Byrd (1652-1704) of Westover (*Cf.* Dr. W. G. Stanard's Byrd pedigree in *Writings of Colonel William Byrd*, ed. Bassett, 1901, p. 447). After a year of marriage she died, October 11, 1698, in her seventeenth year, and was buried at Jamestown (See MI., since destroyed, in Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*), leaving a son, William (1698-1756), who achieved his father's unsatisfied ambition and attained a seat in the Council. This son completed also another cycle his father had begun, for he, too, speculating in land, transcended the mountains; and, so, had the fortune to set on foot the immigration, fateful to Virginia, of the Scotch-Irish out of Pennsylvania up the valley of Virginia, to seat his vast 'Beverley Manor' in Augusta. It was he also who built that notable house, 'Blandfield,' on the Rappahannock, where his descendants persist.

If, for lack of a portrait, we cannot conjure Beverley's appearance, the records enable us to estimate his character. Of his intellectual parts his writings leave no doubt, but the public

muniments do not flatter him in his human contacts. Evidently he did not have the robust conviviality of his father, certainly he lacked the amiability and reticence which carried both his elder brother and his own son further on the colonial *cursus honorum* than his greater ambition was able to take him. Politically, he was a Whig of the school of his father, but, socially, he was a Whig after the pattern of the gentlemen of that persuasion in eighteenth century England. An incidental characterization of him by a witness in court as 'an overbearing man' is perhaps illuminating of his relations with those he considers his inferiors. He had, too, in full measure that least agreeable trait of the governing class of Virginia of his time, a trait which was mitigated and disappeared a generation later in the prosperity Virginia attained when Gooch was consul, namely, an insatiable appetite for small as well as large fees out of the public purse. His iterated claims on the Assembly in that respect evidently wearied those colleagues who most appreciated his intellect and his industry. It was perhaps that avidity which atrophied a political career for which he was otherwise largely equipped.

Bibliography

The literary remains of Robert Beverley, jr., consist of:

I. *The History and Present State of Virginia . . . by a Native and Inhabitant of the Place,* the authorship being further indicated on a frontispiece, engraved by S. Gribelin, as 'by R. B. gent.' This has been printed in six editions, viz: (1) 1705, London, 'for R. Parker,' with an 'Epistle Dedicatory . . . to the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq., Speaker of the H. of Commons and one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State,' and a 'Preface;' (2) 1707, a French translation omitting the Epistle Dedicatory, 'imprimé à Orleans et se vend a Paris chez Pierre Ribou;' (3) 1707, Amsterdam, a pirated edition of the French translation, 'chez F. Lombrail;' (4) 1712, Amsterdam, another pirated edition of the French translation, 'chez Claude Jordan;' (5) 1722, London, 'the Second Edition revis'd and enlarg'd by the Author

. . . for F. Fayram and J. Clarke . . . and T. Bickert,' without the Epistle Dedicatory, but with a new 'preface;' (6) 1855, Richmond, J. W. Randolph, 'reprinted from the author's second revised edition, London, 1722,' with an introduction by Charles Campbell.

II. The mordant political letters from London, written in February, 1703/4, addressed to David Gwyn of Richmond and William Blackbourn of Gloucester; with the first of which was enclosed a 'Narrative' of current events in Virginia. These effusions so stirred Nicholson's wrath that he caused them to be spread on the minutes of the Council (*Council Journal*, ii, 391, 395) and so preserved them for the delectation of posterity. The remainder of that minute is piquant enough for quotation. It shows at once that Beverley was indiscreet, that Nicholson was overwrought, and that the Council were cool and enjoying themselves, viz:

'After reading of which Letter & Narrative His Excellency acquainted the Council that since Mr. Beverley intimates that he has sent other copys of that Memorial Narrative &c into the Country, he thought it necessary to have their advice whether the same, if they should be dispersed may effect the Peace of the Country; Whereupon the Council Declare that it is their opinion that it will not affect the Peace of the Country.

'Then his Excellency caused his opinion thereof to be entered in these words:

'As to Mr. Beverleys letter and Narrative they are part false, part scandalous, & part Malitious, but I could not expect otherwise from a man of his universal ill character but I suppose his Pride, ambition, vanity, unsettledness in all his conditions & his Poverty might make him hope to make a Sedition in the Country. The advice I give him is to get himself close shaved, and make friends with the Governors of her Matys hospital of Bethlem to get a place there: and there he may meet with real chains instead of imaginary ones that I was preparing for her Matys Loyal & dutiful Subjects of Virginia. And as for my own actions I appeal to the several Records of the Country and for what I have written by Letters, I have the copys of them all, and I shall endeavor (God willing) to maintain & Justify them, whenever I shall be legally called to accot. for them.'

III. *The Account of Lamhatty.* This brief MS. (surviving among the Ludwell Papers in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society) is a curious note upon a map drawn by one Lamhatty, a Creek indian, to illustrate a solitary wilderness journey during the summer of 1707 from the waters of the Gulf to the springs of the Mattaponi. It has

been edited, with a reproduction of the map and expert notes, by Mr. David I. Bushnell, jr., in the *American Anthropologist* (1908), x, 569. There is contemporary confirmation of what Beverley recorded, in an official report to the Virginia government by Col. John Walker of King & Queen (*Cal. Virginia State Papers*, i, 118).

IV. *An Abridgement of the Public Laws of Virginia in force and use June* 10, 1720, *to which is added, for the ease of the Justices and Military Officers, etc., Precedents of all Matters to be issued by them peculiar to those Laws; and varying from the Precedents in England*, 1722, London, 'for F. Fayram and J. Clarke . . . and T. Bickerton.'

Beverley's name appears nowhere in the book, but the 'Dedication . . . to His Excellency Alexander Spotswood' is unmistakably in Beverley's style, and the Virginia tradition that it was his book has been constant (*Cf. Va. Mag.*, ix, 273). It will be noted that the publishers were those who also brought out the 1722 edition of the History.

There is an admirable discussion of this little book in *Some Virginia Law Books* by W. H. Martin, Esq., of the Leesburg bar, recently published in the *Virginia Law Register*.

The sources for Beverley's life now available are the public documents heretofore cited, principally the journals of the Council and of the House of Burgesses, pieced out by scraps of surviving county and other records. As he played a smaller part on the Virginia scene than his father and fell on quieter times, there is no such array of papers to testify for him as Hening compiled for his father and published as an appendix to the third volume of his *Statutes at Large*.

The Beverley family, interesting for its sustained public service throughout the colonial period and its marriages with other families of what became, before the American Revolution, a social caste (Armistead, Peyton, Randolph, Robinson, Byrd, Smith of Brandon, Bland, Carter, Tayloe, and Wormeley), is fortunate in having its generations recorded by Dr. W. G. Stanard in a series of papers (*Va. Mag.*, ii, iii, xx, xxi, xxii) which quote fully the appropriate documents and avoid the Virginia foible for uncritical traditions.

DIARY OF WILLIAM BEVERLEY OF "BLANDFIELD" DURING A VISIT TO ENGLAND, 1750

Copied by R. Carter Beverley from original found at Blandfield.

PREFATORY NOTES

[We are indebted to Mr. Robert Beverley, of Blandfield, and his son, Mr. R. Carter Beverley, of Richmond, for a copy of this diary and for permission to print. The object of Col. Beverley's trip to England was to place his son and two other boys at school. A large proportion of the Virginia boys educated in England were from wealthy families living on the south bank of the Rappahannock or in the Northern Neck.

The place of William Beverley's education is unknown to this compiler; but his father and two uncles were at school in England, while his first cousin, Robert Beverley, of Spotsylvania county (son of Harry Beverley) was admitted to the Middle Temple, November 5, 1719.

Colonel William Beverley, who was born about 1698 and died in 1756, was son of Robert Beverley, the historian of Virginia and grandson of Major Robert Beverley (a Yorkshire man), the emigrant. He was a member of the House of Burgesses for a number of sessions; appointed county lieutenant of Orange and Augusta counties in 1741 and a member of the Council in 1750. He inherited and patented or purchased large landed estates, the most notable one being the great "Beverley Manor" tract of 118,400 acres in Augusta county. In partnership with James Patton, then a ship owner, he obtained a large number of Scotch-Irish settlers for this land. Beverley Manor magisterial district, Augusta county, perpetuates the name. He built Blandfield house, in Essex county and named it in honor of his wife, Elizabeth (born May 26, 1706) daughter of Richard Bland, of "Jordon's Point", Prince George county (see this Magazine, III, 269; XXII, 297-301). Their son, Robert, who accompanied them on the voyage, was educated first at Wakefield Grammar School, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was admitted May 19, 1757. He entered the Middle Temple, Jan. 5, 1757 and was called to the bar Feb. 6, 1761 (Jones' *American Members of the Inns of Court*). On his return to Virginia he spent his life quietly without desire for office higher than that of one of the magistrates of his county. During the Revolution his sympathies were strongly with England; but he committed no overt act of opposition to the State. In 1775 he refused membership on the County Committee of Safety, saying that he would take no part in public business during the war. He married Maria, daughter of Landon Carter, of "Sabine Hall", and died in 1800. He was ancestor of the present owner of "Blandfield".

Robert Munford was son of Robert Munford and his wife Anne, daughter of Richard Bland, of "Jordan's Point", and sister to Mrs.

Beverley. Robert, Jr., was educated at Wakefield School, together with several other Virginia boys; but as his father's estate was very much involved, it is probable that he returned home immediately after leaving school. During the French and Indian War he was commissioned a Captain in the 2nd Virginia Regiment, Col. William Byrd commanding, and saw active service in the campaign which resulted in the capture of Fort Duquesne. The cheerful way in which he bore the hardships of frontier warfare is shown by two letters to his uncle, Theodorick Bland, one printed in the Calendar of Virginia State Papers and the other in the Bland Papers:

"Hond. Sir,

Had opportunities offered, as frequently as Inclination would have induced me to write to you, you might have read a Letter from every encampment — After being delayed at Winchester, five or six weeks longer than Expected (in which time I was ordered Express to Williamsburg & allow'd but a day after my return to prepare) we push'd off into the wide Ocean — I was permitted to walk every step of the Way to this humble Fort, to eat little, to lay hard, over Mountain, thro' Mud & Water, yet as merry & hearty as ever. Our Flankers & Sentrys pretend they saw the Enemy daily, but they never approached us — A Detachment is this moment ordered off to clear a Road thirty miles, and our Companies to cover the Working Party — We are in fine scalping ground I assure you, the guns pop about us, & you may see the fellows prick up their Ears like deer every moment. Our Colonel is an example of Fortitude, in either Danger or Hardship, and by his easy, polite Behaviour, has gained not only the Regard but affection, of both officers and soldiers — He has kindly invited me to his table, for the Campaign, offer'd me any sum of money, I may have occasion for, without charging either Principal or Interest, and signified his approbation of my conduct hitherto, in such a manner, as is to my advantage — In passing my recruiting Acct: I was allow'd 18s pr: man, you may judge how much I was a Looser when several officers had 40s.

Col. Charles Carter junr. has a horse of mine in keeping 'till my Return: where he may remain if you think proper — The Batt: Money and Forage Money allow'd me amounts to £66 — In everything possible, I shall be upon the frugal scheme. You may depend upon hearing by all opportunities from

Dr. Sir,

yr. truly Affect: & ever

obliged Nephew

Robt. Munford —

Camp near Fort Cumberland
July 6th 1758

To Mrs. Bland,

Hond. Madm.

Tho' I've hardly a moment, to my own Disposal, I can't omit sending a few words to my dear Aunt, Employed from Sun to Sun, yet from Light to Night, I am mindful of my dear distant Friends — That you

and yours may enjoy Every Blessing that Heaven can bestow, is the Tribute of a Heart sincerely

Yrs:

Robt. Munford

P. S. My love to the Lasses
To Col: Theo. Bland in Prince George."

"Camp, near Fort Cumberland, August 4th, 1758

Hond Sir,

If 'tis honorable to be in the service of one's country, 'tis a reputation gain'd by the most cruel hardships you can imagine, occasioned more by a real anxiety for its welfare, than by what the poor carcase suffers. Every officer seems discontented in camp, happy on command, so deep is the interest of our country implanted in the minds of all. Sometimes the army wears a gloomy, then a joyous aspect, just as the news, either confirms our stay here, or immediate departure.

The Genrl., with the small-pox in one, the flux in the other division of our forces, and no provision ready, are indeed excuses for our being here at present; yet all might have been prevented. A few hearty prayers are every moment offered up for those self-interested Pennsylvanians who endeavour to prevail on our Genrl. to cut a road for their convenience, from Ray's Town to Fort Du-Quesne. That a trifling good to particulars, shoud retard what wou'd conduce to the general welfare: 'tis a set of dirty Dutchmen, they say, that keep us here! It would be impertinent to condemn, yet I must (think) our leaders too deliberate at this important juncture, when all are warm for action, all breathing revenge against an enemy that have even dared to scalp our men before our eyes. The amusement we have in the meantime is only following the brave dogs over the mountains for some miles, and our sole satisfaction sufficient fatigue to make us sleep sound. An old scoundrel has intimated to the Genl. that the Virginians have bribed the guides, for that 'tis practicable to go the new road, contrary to their report. We have lost all our Indians by the assistance of a man, the (aforesaid) old dog, who interposed thro' some dirty views he has of superseding Mr. Atkin. Thus are our officers in a manner ruin'd by persons whose souls scorn a thought that tends not immediately to their own advantage. I'm sorry to live upon my country—when I've so small a prospect for repaying her by any service.

We shall march to Ray's Town shortly, thence to the Fort, if permitted. I shall embrace the next opportunity of writing you our transactions, and am as always, dear sir, your most

Affe'te nephew, &

P. S. By express, we have an acc't that some of the enemy Indians have joined the Pennsylvanians.

To Mrs. Bland.

Hon'd. Madm.

I am well and lousie, but still your affect'e nephew, etc."

The last postscript will make the men of the World War acknowledge Capt. Munford as a brother.

In 1765 Robert Munford was appointed County Lieutenant of Mecklenburg, and represented that county in the House of Burgesses, 1765-1776, and in the House of Delegates, 1779 and 1780. He married his

first cousin and fellow traveller, Anne, daughter of Col. William Beverley, and died in 1784. He was the author of a volume of verse, published in 1798 by his son, William Munford, who was later the translator of Homer.

William Henry Fairfax, youngest son of Col. William Fairfax, of "Belvoir" (now in Fairfax county) was educated at Beverley Grammar School, Yorkshire, England, and returned to Virginia in 1757 with letters of introduction to Lord Loudoun, Commander of the British forces in North America, intending to obtain a commission in a British regiment serving in America. His father desired that he should serve in Washington's Virginia Regiment and wrote several letters to Col. Washington in his behalf. In Sept., 1757, Governor Dinwiddie gave "Billy", as his father called him, a commission as a lieutenant in Washington's regiment. Washington was afraid that a commission to young Fairfax, jumping him over the heads of men of long service might cause trouble and such proved to be the case. Lieutenant Fairfax reported to his Colonel, but finding his situation disagreeable went north to seek service under Lord Loudoun in a regular regiment. He first served as a volunteer in the 44th Regiment, then stationed at Albany; but soon purchased a lieutenancy in the 28th Regiment. On Dec. 9, 1757, he wrote a friendly letter to Washington telling him of the military arrangements he had made.

William Henry Fairfax served with his regiment until the siege and capture of Quebec. In the attack he lost his right arm and died from the effects of his wounds.

The son-in-law who accompanied the party from "Blandfield" was Col. William Fitzhugh, of "Marmion", Stafford county (later in King George), who was born April 13, 1725, and died in 1791. He was a Burgess for Stafford in 1748 and 1751. His will, proved in King George, shows that he had a large and valuable estate including books, a coach, plate, etc. The interesting panels, etc., from the interior of his old home have now been removed to the Metropolitan Museum.

On their way overland from "Blandfield" to Urbanna another son-in-law of Col. Beverley met them at Tappahannock. This was James Mills, who had married Elizabeth Beverley. He was long a prosperous merchant at Tappahannock and Urbanna, and, like his brother-in-law, Robert Beverley, had trouble during the Revolution on account of his Tory leanings.

In one of the record books of Middlesex county the following letter is entered. The cause for its recordation does not appear.

"Rosegill May 13, 1763

Dear Sir

'To divert the disappointment of yours & Mr. Lewis's company yesterday (which I fully expected) I proposed a dance to the Young Ladies which continued very chearfully all the decent hours last night, tho' often wishing the addition of your company. Mr. Hunter has not yet made his appearance, when he does I shall forward letters by post to So. Carolina. I say no more than that your order will be complyed with and that no one wishes you better or entertains a greater opinion of you.

D'r S'r

Your Aff. Friend

James Mills

Excuse this as paper is scarce & great deal of company. Compliments to my old friend Colo. Lewis and his Lady & Family.
To George Leonard, Jr."

At "Hewick", near Urbanna, a seat of the Robinsons, they were welcomed by the owner and his nephew, Speaker Robinson. Their host, Christopher Robinson, would have been interested in the three boys who were on their way to an English school, for he had matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, May 21, 1724, and been admitted to the Middle Temple, May 16, 1727.

Christopher Robinson, who was born about 1705 and died July 28, 1768, was a son of Chrsitopher Robinson, of "Hewick", Middlesex Co. (who owned the manor of Hewick, Yorkshire, Eng., bequeathed to him by his uncle, John Robinson, Bishop of London), and grandson of Christopher Robinson, of "Hewick", Middlesex, Secretary of the State of Virginia. In addition to having been bred at an English college himself, Christopher Robinson had two brothers who were Oriel men: Rev. William matriculated April 12, 1737, B. A., 1740, and Peter, matriculated April 2, 1737. Christopher Robinson was a Burgess for Middlesex 1752-58. He married 1st, Mary ———, probably a daughter of Edmond Berkeley, of "Barn Elms", Middlesex, and 2nd (marriage bond May 6, 1750), Sarah, daughter of John Wormeley, of "Rosegill", Middlesex. It is singular that Col. Beverley does not mention the bride. Perhaps she was absent.

John Robinson, of "Mt. Pleasant", King and Queen county, always called "Speaker Robinson" from the fact that he filled the chair of the House of Burgesses from 1738 to 1765, was for many years the most influential man in Virginia. He was born Feb. 3, 1704 and died May 11, 1766. His father, John Robinson, was President of the Council and acting Governor of Virginia. Speaker Robinson was an alumnus of William and Mary; but his father had been at school in England and the Speaker's brother, Christopher Robinson (born 1703) matriculated at Oriel College, July 12, 1721, B. A., 1724, M. A., 1729, and was a fellow at the time of his death, April 20, 1738.

Ralph Wormeley of "Rosegill", across the creek from Urbanna, with whom Col. Beverley and his friends dined on the 29th, was born Oct. 5, 1715, and died Aug. 9, 1790. He was a son of John Wormeley, of "Rosegill", who, with a brother, Ralph, attended school in England, and grandson of Ralph Wormeley, Secretary of State of Virginia, who matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, July 1, 1665. Later Mr. Wormeley sent his son, Ralph, Jr. (six years old in 1750) to England where he entered Eton, April 12, 1757, and completed his studies at Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Col. Churchill to whose house the party went on July 1st when delayed in the Rappahannock by lack of wind, was Armistead Churchill, of "Bushy Park", Middlesex, son of Col. William Churchill, member of the Council. He was born July 25, 1704 and died in 1763. By his marriage with Hannah, daughter of Nathaniel Harrison, of "Wakefield", Surry county, he had a large number of children. One of his sons, Henry Churchill, was admitted to the Middle Temple, Oct. 9, 1750, was called to the bar, May 24, 1754, and died Dec. 24, 1760 (Jones' *American Members of the Inns of Court*).

When Col. Beverley left Liverpool and traveled north to find a suitable school for the boys under his charge, he arrived at Wakefield, Yorkshire, on August 19, 1750, where he met Mr. William Shaw, "who

married a sister of Richard Ambler of Virginia, Esq." They were the grandparents of Charles Shaw Lefevre, who was for 18 years Speaker of the House of Commons and afterwards Viscount Eversley. Richard Ambler, son of John Ambler, sheriff of York, Eng., 1751, was born Dec. 24, 1699, and died Feb. 1766. He came to Va. 1716, engaged in extensive business as a merchant at Yorktown and, by his marriage with Elizabeth, dau. of Edward Jacquelin, of Jamestown, acquired a large part of that island. The two sons who were at school in England were Edward 1733-1768), and John (1735-1766). John, after leaving Wakefield entered the Inner Temple Nov. 27, 1752, migrated to the Middle Temple Nov. 21, 1754, and was called to the bar January 28, 1757.

"Capt. John Smith, of Middlesex, son", also a schoolboy at Wakefield, was Augustine, son of John Smith, of "Shooter's Hill", Middlesex county, Virginia. John Smith, who was a Burgess for Middlesex, 1761-1768, married Mary Jacqueline, of Jamestown. His son, Augustine (Jan. 3, 1739-Jan. 13, 1774) returned to Virginia, and after his father's death, inherited the "Shooter's Hill" estate.

"Col. Lee", whose two schoolboy sons were met by the Beverley party on August 20th, at Wakefield, was Thomas Lee, of "Stratford", President of the Council and acting Governor, who died Nov. 14, 1750. Thomas Lee had "a plain Virginia education"; but his uncle, John Lee, matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, July 2, 1658, and was A. B., April 30, 1662. The places of education of Richard Lee, President Lee's father, are unknown, but his epitaph states that he was "in literis Graecis et Latinis et aliis humanioris literaturae disciplinis versatisimi". One of Col. Lee's boys was certainly Richard Henry, afterwards the signer of the Declaration of Independence ,who is known to have been a scholar at Wakefield. The identity of the other is not certain. Philip Ludwell Lee was admitted to the Middle Temple Dec. 1, 1749, and Thomas Ludwell Lee to the Inner Temple August 1, 1748, so neither of them would probably have been at Wakefield in 1750. Francis Lightfoot was educated in Virginia; therefore the other boy must have been either William or Arthur, though in 1750 they were respectively eleven and ten years old.

On the 19th of August the party met at Wakefield, Col. Wm. Fairfax, who had come from York.

William Fairfax (born at Newton Kyme, Yorkshire, in 1691, died at "Belvoir", Virginia, 1757) was a son of Henry Fairfax, of Toulston, Yorkshire, and grandson of Thomas, 4th Lord Fairfax. He served as a subaltern in the Navy; but in 1712, resigned and entered the Colonial service. He held various offices in India and the Bahamas and was then appointed collector of customs at Salem, Mass., and in 1733 removed to Virginia to accept the position of agent for the Northern Neck proprietors. About 1741 he built Belvoir house, in the present Fairfax county which was his home during the rest of his life. He was a Burgess, 1741-43, appointed to the Council in 1743 and later became President of that body. He married three times and left children by his last two wives. One of his sons, Rev. Bryan Fairfax, succeeded as 8th Lord Fairfax.

Col. Fairfax was heir to his childless brother, Henry Fairfax, of Toulston, and the questions asked in regard to their relationship were evidently to be used to prove the Colonel's claim. In 1759 Henry Fairfax died, and William Fairfax inherited Toulston.

A descendant of the Fairfax family has kindly given the following notice of the education of Col. Fairfax's children.

1. *George William Fairfax* (1725-1787) was sent to England for his education in 1731 (aged 6) while his father was still resident at Salem in Mass. (see Neill, p. 74). He remained in England until 1746, when he came out to Virginia. It does not appear what school he attended in Yorkshire; but, in any event, he did not matriculate at either university. For him see *Virginia Land Grants*, p. 166.

2. *Thomas Fairfax* (1726-1746) is listed in the British Admiralty records in September, 1741 (aged 14) as a midshipman on H. M. S. Southsea Castle, 40, Capt. Curtis Barnett, R. N., a former shipmate of his father. It does not appear whether he joined in England or Virginia. At all events, most of his education was at sea, for he was continually afloat from 14 to 20, when he was "D. D., slain in fight."

3. *Bryan Fairfax* (1736-1802) was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, the first child of his mother, Deborah, dau. of Francis Clarke and Deborah Gedney, his wife, of Salem. When he was ten years of age his father arranged to send him to Yorkshire for education at the Beverley Grammar School, as he did his other sons; but the mother refused to part with him. After her death (1747) his father sent him to Salem and there he lived with his mother's people and went to school until 1752; when, being sixteen, he was shipped to Barbados for commercial training in the counting house of his uncle, John Clarke. In 1754, with his father's consent, he returned to Virginia and thereafter was for two years resident at Alexandria, "writing" for the firm of Carlyle & Dalton, of which his brother-in-law, John Carlyle, was the senior partner. For his subsequent career see *Virginia Land Grants*, p. 172.

[The following letter of Bryan Fairfax from the commercial collection (1927) of autographs of The Rosenbach Company of Philadelphia is the earliest MS. of B. F. which has yet appeared. With it should be read the two letters of the same period (copies attached) written by B. F. to his aunt Hannah Clarke (Mrs. John Cabot of Salem) now in the collection of the Essex Institute, Salem.]

[To Mrs. Deborah Clarke of Salem. Note the subscription in the now obsolete usage, "your most dutiful and obedient nephew,' the lady being his grandmother.]

Hon[d] Madam Barbados March 18, 1753.

Since I had the Honour of writing to You the 8[th] October, I received your favour of the 3[d] November with a Box of Nuts; for which Token of Your Love I heartily thank you; and wish it was in my Power to make You amends for *that*, as well as all other favours.

I wou'd have sent You a little Fruit, or some other Trifle, but there is none now to be had, or any thing worth your Acceptance.

I have no more to say at present, therefore stile my self with my best Regards, & hearty Wishes for your health & happiness,

Hon[d] Madam

Your most dutiful
& obedient Nephew
Bryan Fairfax.

[Addressed to "Mrs. Deborah Clarke, Salem, per favour of Capt. Foster."]

To his aunt, Mrs. Hannah [Clarke] Cabot, of Salem, sent by the hand of Capt. Hodges.

Barbados May 21 1753

Hon^{d} Madam

I have been lately favoured wth yours of the 21st April, & am glad to hear my Grandmother continues so heartily: Pray present my Duty to her, Assuring her that I shall always gratefully remember her kind notice of me. You desire to know what Lee it is that has married my Sister, but I can give you no Resolve in that point, as I have not received a Letter from Virginia for many Months: I wrote you by Capt: Jones that I had heard she was married to that Gentleman, but that I could not tell who he was.

Give me Leave also to return you my heartiest thanks for the great notice you are pleased to take of me by your kind Epistles, which have always given me great pleasure & will always be very acceptabl eto him who has the honour of being with great Esteem

Your most dutiful
& Obed^{t} Nephew
Bryan Fairfax.

To the same lady.

Belvoir 7 Feb'y 1754.

Dear Madam

M^{r} Cook giving but a short warning I have only time to acquaint you of all Welfare, and of the late Arrival of Bryan Fx. from Barbados; which Place not suiting his Desires, had my leave to return, and I hope We shall find him some Business that will be agreeable to Him. Miss Hannah continues to Improve, is at present with her Sister Carlyle, or intended to have wrote. With our Complements of Duty and Love to our Mother, Relations and Friends

I am dear Sister
Y^{r} very affect^{e} Brother
W. Fairfax.

To his aunt Hannah Clarke, wife of John Cabot of Salem.

Virginia Jan'ry 16, 1755.

Hon^{d} Madam

You have no doubt been surprised that you should remain so long without a Line from me, as I have not had the pleasure of writing to you since I came from Barbados; But I flatter myself with your Excuse, when you are informed that, tho' I have been arrived above a year, I never had an opportunity till now of renewing a correspondence which was once very agreeable, and will, I hope, prove as satisfactory as can be expected, considering the few Opportunities we have of communicating our sentiments to each other.

I am equally desirous of hearing from you, and of my Grandmama's State of Health; to whom I desire my most dutiful Respects; And, hoping for the Favour of a few Lines, when any opportunity offers, remain with Great esteem Hon^{d} Madam

Your dutiful, affect.
& Obliged Hble Servt
Bryan Fairfax

Westmoreland County Janry 22d

When I wrote the above, I was just sitting out from Fairfax to accompany my S^r^ Lee down here, and, as my S^r^ Fx. had not time to write her's over again, I hope you'll excuse the many Blots &c.

Pray make my best Respects to my Uncle.

B. F."

4. *William Henry Fairfax* (1739-1759), educated at Beverley Grammar School in Yorkshire, 1750-1757.

Mr. and Mrs. Porteus, seen at York, were Robert Porteus and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Governor Edmund Jenings, of "Ripon Hall", York county, Va., and granddaughter of Sir Edmund Jenings, of Ripon, Yorkshire. Robert Porteus (son of Edward Porteus, of Gloucester county, Virginia, a native of the parish of Newbottle, Scotland, where he had a small estate), lived at "Newbottle", Gloucester county, Virginia, was appointed member of Council, 1713, and remained a member of that body until his removal to England between 1725 and 1730. He lived first in the city of York and afterwards at Ripon. He died August 8, 1758, aged 79, and his wife, Jan. 30, 1754, aged 80. They were the parents of Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London.

"Major Daingerfield" was probably William Daingerfield, of Essex county, Virginia, who "died at an advanced age" on April 29, 1769.

The exact relation of the Beverleys, named in the diary, to the Virginia family is unknown. A letter from another English kinsman, copied from the original at "Blandfield" is printed at the end of the diary.

DIARY OF WILLIAM BEVERLEY OF "BLANDFIELD" DURING A VISIT TO ENGLAND, 1750

Copied by R. Carter Beverley from original found at Blandfield.
(See Notes in Jan., 1928, Magazine)

Virg[a] June 27, 1750

I WB. with my wife, son Robert & daughter Anna, Robt Munford & W. H. Fx [Fairfax], left Blandfield in Essex Cty, in Comp[a] M[r] W Fitzhugh & my Daut[r] Ursula his wife & their children, bidding adieu to sev[l] of friends then we went to M[r] Mills's in Tap[a]

28. We all together w[th] W. Fitzhugh my son in Law, left Tapp[a] biding adieu to my 2 dear daughters Eliz[a] Mills & Urs[a] Fitzhugh we went to Wilays ordinary & dined having had a shower of Rain (so we kept down to Mrs. Thacker's where after a little stay W. F. & myself leaving my wife & children then went to Mr Ch[r] Robinsons where we met good friend & relat'n Jn[o] Robinson Esq[r] & an hearty welcome

29. I began to write Instructions for my Attr[a] till I was tired & then we with J. R. Esq[r] speaker Ch[r] Robinson Esq[r] with Pet. Robinson went on invitation to dine with Ralph Wormley Esq[r] at Urbanna & hoping to see Cap[t] Tho Ward of the Radbourn of Liverpool, here Mr. Mills & Mr James Gray met us, at night we ret[d] to Mr Ch[r] Robinsons.

30. I finish'd my Inſtructions for my attorneys & deliver'd them to John Robinson Esq[r] one of them & sent for my wife to come down to dine with M[r] Wormeley where went Cap[t] Ward & we concluded to sail early y[e] next morning, in y[e] evening I gave y[e] Gent[n] who did me y[e] Hon[r] to visit me entert[m]t at Alex[r] Fraziers in y[e] evening & my wife myself & children lodged at M[r] Wormleys.

July 1. The wind was favourable tho but little of it. Y^e^ shipp weigh'd anchor very early & Cap^t^ Ward hurried us on board so q^t^ I had not time to Stay for the Speakers coming to take my laſt leave of him, we quickly got on board, but y^e^ wind & tide failing us we anchor'd at 12 ag^t^ Col^o^ Churchills, the Cap^t^ & I went on shore to his house in y^e^ evening they sent for my wife & children & we all laid there all night; here Col^o^ Berkeleys young daughter broke her arm

2d We went away about sunrise & got on board y^e^ ships being under said with a small westerly breese got into y^e^ bay & anch'd ag^t^ Gwyns Isl^d^.

3. light breeses till 4 oclock then we had a squal for ½ hour with wind & rain then got into Mobjack bay & anch^d^

4. a light breese till y^e^ afternoon a strong gale, got into Linhaven bay haul'd close & left y^e^ Cape Henry abt sunsett & kept to sea y^e^ Molly being ab^t^ 2 leagues an head of us.

5. Raining & then fair y^e^ Molly about 2 or 3 leagues a stern light winds, y^e^ Cape at noon ab^t^ 50 miles a stern.

Saturday Aug^t^ y^e^ 4 we made y^e^ coast of Ireland call'd.

Tuesday Aug^t^ 7. We being beyond Beamorris in Wales. y^e^ weather being foggy, with a strong head wind we turned back & put in at Beaumorris harbour & came to an anchor & only in y^e^ morning & then went on shoar with y^e^ Cap^t^ to y^e^ Town, & after we had refresh'd our selves we walk to view L^d^ Buckleys gardens, y^e^ scituation of y^e^ house was pleasant & romantic. We stayed in y^e^ Town all night.

Wednesday Aug^t^ 8 We weighed anchor & got safely to anchor in Liverpool river & in y^e^ evening went on shoar to Liverpool in health & safety, praised be God.

Friday y^e^ 17^th^ of Aug^t^ 1750

Cap^t^ Tho Ward, M^r^ Richard Blundell & myself left Liverpool in order for my seeking out a fit place for to settle my family in & to put my son, R Munford & W H Fx to school, Cap^t^ Ward was so kind as to lend me his horse. We dined at Prescot at y^e^ 3 legs of Man nigh y^e^ Church & in y^e^ eveng got to Warrington & took up our lodg^g^ at

18. Din'd at Manchester at y^e^ ——— & in y^e^ even'g got to y^e^ ——— in Rochdale

19. Croſt Blackstone Edge, went to Morning service in Rippondale ——— din'd at y^e^ ——— in Eland went to evening service & then got to Wakefield at y^e^ Sign of y^e^ ——— & sent for M^r^ W^m^ Shaw who married y^e^ sister of Rich^d^ Ambler of Virg^a^ Esq^r^ to whom I deliver'd his bro^r^ Ambler's lere & y^e^ 6 guineas, he sent him, soon after I had y^e^ pleasure of y^e^ Comp^a^ of Col^o^ W^m^ Fx who came from York to meet me, Mr Amblers 2 sons & Cap^t^ John Smith of Mid^x^ son who all stayed with us till bed time.

20. We went after breakfast to M^r^ Shaws & thence we with M^r^ Fx & y^e^ Virginians walked to y^e^ Academy at Heath w^ch^ is an exceedinf pleas^t^ place here we saw Col^o^ Lees 2 sons We in comp^a^ with M^r^ Randall viewed y^e^ village & all y^e^ schools, he entertained us with a glass of wine. I should have liked to have settled here but there was no house to be let within y^e^ Town or village We went back to Wakefield & after dinner, we in comp^a^ with Col^o^ Fx & M^r^ Rich^d^ Lee went to Leeds to see the cloath market & lodged at y^e^ Sign of y^e^

21. We saw y^e^ Cloath market where all things were conducted with great silence all bargaines being made by whiſpering & then we left y^e^ Town & stop'd awhile at one Worthington at Toulson an estate belonging to Henry Fx Esq^r^ bro^r^ to y^e^ Col^o^ & eat some Ham & had good ale. M^rs^ Worthington told me that she knew Col^o^ Fairfax & remembered him very well & that he was y^e^ son of Henry Fairfax Esq^r^ who had lived at & own'd Toulson & y^t^ y^e^ present owner Henry was y^e^ bro^r^ of y^e^ Col^o^. After we were refreshd we jogged on to Tadcaster & dined at y^e^ sign of y^e^ ——— & then kept on & call'd y^e^ York raceground where we saw y^e^ race & then went to York & had private Lodgings, y^e^ Col^o^ & I lay'd at ——— a Apothorcarwys & suppd at y^e^ sign of y^e^ Fountain. Cap^t^ Ward & M^r^ Blundell lay at one

22. We view y^e^ Cathedral, & saw Col^o^ Fx & bro^r^ ——— went to see M^rs^ Porteus our Country woman, Eat at y^e^ Fountain, went to a play, this day M^r^ Blundell went to y^e^ races.

23. I had a good deal of [talk] with Hen. Fx Esq^{r} who own'd to me yt Col Fx was his bro^{r}. after breakfast, we 2 with our 2 sons left York & dined at ———— & in the evening got to Beverley at y^{e} sign of y^{e} ———— & sent for y^{e} Rev^{d} M^{r} Clark master of y^{e} school at Bev: to sup with us, & he was so good as to come to us, he has y^{e} character of a very worthy gent^{n}. We had a good deal of discourse ab^{t} y^{e} school.

24. M^{r} Clark joined us & having Enquired about what houses were to be let we view Col^{o} Moysers house & gardens, but y^{e} house was strippd of y^{e} chimney pieces grates & all but y^{e} outer locks, y^{e} house being too large & y^{e} rent too high, we view a large old house &c belonging to 2 young ladies y^{e} daughters of y^{e} late Cap^{t} Appleyard, when one of y^{e} young Ladies met us & took 3 or 4 hours to consult their friend ab^{t} y^{e} Rent, & then walkt to M^{r} Clark & to S^{r} John Hothams fine houſe when M^{r} Clark left us to go to York. Abt 3 y^{e} other miſs appleyard came to me at y^{e} inn & I took time to consider if I should accept of y^{e} terms & sometime after we mounted our horses & stoppd at y^{e} ho: y^{e} sd young ladies lodg'd at but could not agree ab^{t} y^{e} rent. We went to Hull at y^{e} sign of y^{e} ———— by y^{e} market place, & in y^{e} sd market place Cap^{t} Wards mare fell down on his broad side with him but I thank God he rec'd but little dammage, after we had settled our In^{e} Cap^{t} Ward took to y^{e} houſe of M^{r} Mold a very civil worthy merch^{t} where we drank a bottle of wine, & went to our inn where we found Col^{o} Fx's sister & her husband M^{r} ———— a Land waiter.

25. Misty. I delivered a Letter of Credit M^{r} Edw^{d} Athaws sent me to Meſs^{rs} Fairbourne & Travers to M^{r} Travers, M^{r} Fairbourne not being at home.

26. We left Col^{o} Fx & X^{r} [crossed] y^{e} Humber. breakfasted at ———— dined at y^{e} sign of ———— in Briggs and got to y^{e} sign of ———— in Lincoln.

27. Viewed y^{e} Minster —— dined at ———— in Newark & lay at Nottingham

28. Went to Derby

29. Went to Ashburn in Derbyshire where I by Capt Ward got acquainted with Mr Geo. Cotton a worthy good natured Tobo mfr & his bro Thomas.

30. Went to Matlock bath, dined there, it is pretty romantic place & then to Edensor by Chatsworth & lodged hter at yo sign of yo ———

31. Viewed Chatsworth a noble house & dined at Edensor & went to Buxton bath where my Companions bath'd 2nd at night & also in yo morning—there was much Company.

31st Went to yo sign of ——— in ——— where we dined & then to yo sign of yo ———

Sept 2. We got to Warrington to Breakfast & went to Church in yo afternoon, this day it rained hard, being only rain worth notice since we left Liverpool, here Mr Geo. Cotton met us as he had before promised us to go to Liverpool. We lay at yo Sign of yo ———

3d. Got to Liverpool in Good health & found my family pretty well

Praised be God.

No. miles travelld in this Journey ——— about ——— measured miles

Expenses of this Journey £

Sept 4, 1750. Delivered Wm Rusells oar WR & mine WB to Mr George Cotton who promised to get it used for me in Derbyshire & send me an account of them to Beverley. Mine he thinks is good but that there is but little in Rusells.

Wrote Letters in Sept 1750 by Capt Garnetts Snow Rapp to yo foll. psons.

The President	Jno Robinson Esq
Mr Mills & Ux	Mr Fitzhugh & ux
Col R. Bland	Col Theo. Bland
Mr Curry & ux	Maj Tunstall
John Brown	W. Waller
My Sister Lee	Henry Lee
Harry Beverley	Col Turner

Col^{o} Lomax	M^{r} Ambler
M^{r} Jn^{o} Smith	M^{r} R. Barnes
My Attorneys	W^{m} Sears
Jn^{o} Livingston j^{r}	M^{r} Mills
Col^{o} Jn^{o} Lee	

Sept^{r} 10, 1750—Fair. We left Liverpool in an hired Landau belonging to M^{r} Jackson of Warrington, from whence Cap^{t} Ward & Maj^{r} Daingerfield & dined at y^{e} Red Lion of Ashton. Exps 11 /. 11 miles computed.

11. We took our leaves of Cap^{t} Ward & M^{r} Daingerfield & went to Littlebro: at y^{e} foot of Blackstone Edge where we dined with M^{r} Tarlton of Live^{r}p & M^{r} Legh of Cawson 4 / exp^{s}. Went to Brig houſe where we lay at y^{e} sign of y^{e} black swan by y^{e} bridge. 10 /.

12. We dined at sign of Mason(?) Leeds Exp^{s} 6 / 6 & lodged in Tadcaster at y^{e} house by y^{e} Croſs 10 /

13. We went to York I visited Mrs Porteus, She her Dau^{r} & son wth Mrs. Jenings came with me to see my wife & M^{r} Jenings & M^{r} Porteus dined wth us 11 /. Went & lodged at y^{e} bla swan in Market Wightor(?) Exp^{s} 5 / 6. Here was to be a fair next day & very many. here our lodging but very indiff^{t}.

14. Got to y^{e} Bul in Beverley at 8 in y^{e} morning—paid coach hire £ 13-10.- & gave y^{e} Coachman 3 / now & 5 / some days before. In y^{e} Evening Visited M^{r} Clark & drank Tea.

15. fair. Dined at y^{e} Inn & drank Tea at M^{r} Clarks & M^{r} Clark supped at the Bull with us.

16 fair. We went to Minster Church dined at y^{e} Bull, went to y^{e} other Church & suppd at M^{r} Clarks, with y^{e} Rev^{d} Doct^{r} Johnson & Lady & y^{e} Rev^{d} M^{r} Johnson their son.

18. Rain'd. My wife went to Hull, I deliver'd M^{r} Stevenson's lre to M^{r} Moffitt who is a very civil gent & offered me what money I wanted & to serve me in all he could, but as I had a Ler of Credit from M^{r} Athawes on Mess^{rs} Fairbourne & Traverse I 1st waited on them who receiv'd me very civilly & told me I might have what money I wanted but when I

ment^{s} £100 or guineas they told me they had not more than 20 odd guineas at laſt they agreed I might have fifty, but imagining they doubted me, and knowing I should want more to buy household goods I told them it would look odd for me y^{t} was a stranger to every body to go to buy goods without money in my pocket, & desired I might have M^{r} Athawes Letter of C^{t} again which they gave me & I told them M^{r} W^{m} Moffitt would let me have what I wanted, M^{r} Fairbourne said that would be as well. When I had got Athawes Letter I left them & went to M^{r} Wollfitt & showed him sd Letter & askt for but £50, which he let me have & I gave him a bill on M^{r} Ch Smyth of London for £50 on sight. I then went to y^{e} blacbull(?) & Swan where I had left my wife & found her with my cou: Phobe Beverley & y^{e} Rev^{d} M^{r} Johnson bespoke beefstakes. Went to sev^{l} Shops bou^{t} some trifles & bespoke a mahog: chest of Drawers £ 4 price & 12 chairs. dined & went to y^{e} wid^{e} Beverleys where M^{r} Clapham & his wife boards. She is y^{e} Sister of Col^{o} Fx. She joined us we went to my cousin Ramseys to see her mother drank tea there went from shop to shop & in y^{e} evening ret^{d} to y^{e} Bull.

20. Betty Blackstone our chambermaid came in y^{e} evening to our services at £ 3 ℔ year 2 / 6 Entrance

21. I receiv'd of M^{r} ———— Spencer 1 chaldron of coals at 18 /

25. Went to Hull & bo^{t} some things & ret'd sick & found a Lre for M^{r} Backhouſe inclosing Lres from y^{e} Speaker & Bev. Whitinge

29. Wrote to my fr^{ds} in Virg^{a} as—

Jn^{o} Robinson Esq^{r}
Bever: Whitinge
Mills & ux^{r}
Ch^{r} Robinson
Rob^{t} Rose
Fitzhugh & ux^{r}

A Journey to London in Comp^{a} wth Col^{o}, W^{m} Fx & Maj^{r} Jn^{o} Carlyle.

Oct^{r} 1, 1750. We left Beverley & went to Hull where we hired a post chaise of M^{r} Thompson at £ 5. 10. for our Journey.

2. fair. We got over to Narton(?) after dinner & lay at Brig at y^{e} Angell

3. fair. We dined at y^{e} White Hart in Lincoln & lay at Ancaster.

4. fair. dined at Stamford & lay at Stilton

5. fair. dined at X keys in S^{t} Noah & lay at Dalden

6. fair. dined at checkerboard in Hatfield & lay at y^{e} Red Lion Grays Inn Lane.

8. took our Lodging at Miſs Buckridge's in Bonds Court Walbrook at 5 / p week.

Oct^{r}. M^{r} Dinwiddie in y^{e} Exisa deliv'd me a Letter from M^{r} Sec^{ry} of y^{e} board of trade to know if I intended to return to Virg^{a} if I did not in a short time y^{t} y^{e} board must recom^{d} another Gent^{n} to be a Virg^{a} Councillor in my room & a little after S^{r} W^{m} Gooch made me sit down on a bench & asked me if I had rec^{d} y^{e} Letter & denied he had made interest ag^{t} my appointm^{t} & pretended to be very kind to me.

I went to Col^{o} Fx at M^{r} Ralph Nadon's to consult him what answer to give & met wth Maj^{r} Fx & showed him my Lre. he invited Col^{o} Fx & I to dinner & when there he readily understood y^{e} mannagement of my affair & went ab^{t} it yt night & next day.

Oct^{r} 23. Early y^{e} morning I rec'd a card from M^{r} Nadon for me to wait on Maj^{r} Fx at 11 I waited on him & we went to y^{e} board of trade where Col^{o} Fx met us, M^{r} Farra one of y^{t} board told us y^{t} S^{r} W^{m} Gooch was y^{e} occasion of this trouble. When y^{e} board met Maj^{r} Fx & I was called in & L^{d} Hallifax for y^{e} board required I should be in Virg^{a} before Oct^{r} next w^{ch} I agreed to & were disch'd but were call'd back & told we were to go y^{e} Sec^{ry}'s office which we did & had it entered there & then we all dined at Maj^{r} Fx's house which is beautiful & had a kind entertainment & he carried us to y^{e} play house Covent Garden & where y^{t} Conscious Lovers was acted & then ret^{d} to our sev^{l} lodgings.

[illegible]

Oct[r] 25. M[r] Carlile & I hired a post chaise & Cap[t] Littlegate rode his horse at 11 we left London & dined at y[e] Chequers in Hatfield & lay at Stownadge.

26. breakfasted at Biggleswade dined at Bugdon & lay at Stilton.

27. breakfasted at Stamford, dined at Coltsworth & lay at Ancaster.

28. breakfasted at Lincoln dined at Brig & lay at Barton ferry.

29. Crosed to Hull & went home to Beverley & found all well

Praised be God

Exp[t]

LETTER FROM A RELATION, FROM ORIGINAL AT BLANDFIELD

Norwich Sep[r] 16, 1751

Sr/

My Cousin Phebe Beverley hath done me the favour to Acquaint me of you, and Your Lady and Your Son and one of Your Daughters, Arriving in England and Residing at Wakefield.

Reflecting on the Dangers that are Likely to Arise, in crossing such an Extent of Sea, It gives me the greatest Pleasure too hear, that You, and so an Inestimable a part of Your Family are arrived Safe.

I Beg Leave Sr to Joyn to me, my Wife, and three Little Boys (the eldest turned Six) in Saluting, and Wishing Health, and Happiness, to You and to Your Lady, to Master Beverley, to Miss, that is with You; And to the other part of Your Family, you left behind; Allso to Subscribe my Selfe;

Sr Your Affectionate Cousin
And most Humble Servant
William Beverley

ROBERT BEVERLEY, THE HISTORIAN OF VIRGINIA

[The material for the following paper was assembled as the basis for a short notice which will be included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, now in preparation under the auspices of a Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies. It is here printed in order to make available in Virginia the detailed examination it rehearses of Beverley's participation in Virginia politics, in which respect it supplements Dr. Stanard's notice of the historian in *Va. Mag.*, iii, 170, . F. H.]

Robert Beverley, jr. (1673?-1722), historian of Virginia, was the second son of that first Robert Beverley (1641?-1687), representative of a 'cavalier' family of the minor gentry of Yorkshire[1] who had emigrated to Virginia in 1663, and there played a conspicuous part in quelling Bacon's Rebellion and subsequently as one of the organizers of the 'country party,'

[1] The only Virginia evidence for the origin of the immigrant Robert Beverley, is the note made by his parson in the parish register at the time of his burial, that he was 'of Yorkshire' (*Christ Church Parish Register*, p. 32). That he came of a 'cavalier' family is Dr. Stanard's fair deduction from his own statement (Hening, iii, 258) that his heart had been filled from his youth up with loyalty to his king. The tradition (which Robert MacKenzie Beverley certified to Burke for his *Landed Gentry* early in the nineteenth century) that the immigrant sold to the Pennyman family an inheritance near the town of Beverley in Yorkshire, is not borne out by any records; on the contrary, the pedigree of 'Warton of Beverley Parks' (Poulson, *Beverlac*, 1829, p. 499) shows that the Pennymans acquired the Beverley Parks estate by marriage with the heiress of the Wartons, who had held that property from the time of Henry VIII. A casual examination of the Yorkshire records now in print suggests, however, that research, especially among parish registers, might establish definitely the origin of the Virginia Beverleys; for there is Yorkshire evidence for a family of Beverleys who had belonged to the minor gentry since the Reformation, when they acquired lands on the dissolution of the monasteries. Originally burgesses of the town of Beverley, whence they derived their name, and later of the town of Selby, they were, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, seated at Westow in the East Riding and at Great Smeaton in the North Riding; where they were ruined by their loyalty to the Crown in the Civil Wars, lost their lands and disappeared from the English records (Yorkshire Archeological Society, *Record Series*, xviii, p. 120; Victoria

which introduced Whig politics into the colony.[8] The future historian was born on his father's original dwelling plantation on the Pianketank in Middlesex; his mother being the dau. of a Hull merchant and the widow of George Keeble, an early Middlesex planter. He was sent for education to England; where he was when his father died and for some time

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County History, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, i, 198; Dugdale's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, 1665, in Surtees Society, xxxvi, 35). The Virginia immigrant was certainly not of the Great Smeaton family, which is fully accounted for; and, moreover, his grandson denied (*Va. Mag.*, iii, 52) that he bore the arms which Dugdale had confirmed to that family; but it is quite possible that he came out of the Westow household. There is a clew in the marriages of a Thomas and a William Beverley of Westow in 1639 and 1640, respectively, noted in Yorkshire Archaeological Society, *Record Series*, xl, pp. 142, 162.

[8] The notice of the first Robert Beverley by Burk (*History of Virginia*, ii, 240), followed by the collection of the then available documents for him by Hening (*Statutes*, iii, 541), proves that during the American Revolution Virginia looked back on the immigrant Beverley as a protomartyr of resistance to arbitrary government by the Crown; but he has fared ill at the hands of the modern school of historians of the American colonies, who are in reaction against the extreme 'patriotism' of the nineteenth century. They have taken at par the animadversions upon Beverley in the memorials from Gloucester following Bacon's Rebellion, and in the despatches of Secretary Nicholas Spencer during the plant cutting in 1682. On that consideration Dr. Stanard's philosophical notice of Beverley (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 405) is the more welcome. Writing in 1894, Dr. Stanard supplemented Hening's documents with the Sainsbury Abstracts from the Public Record Office in London, material which has since been published more fully in the *Calendar of State Papers*, Am. & W. I., 1681-85. A review of those papers, with the full journals of the Council and House, now available in the editions of the Virginia State Library, must convince any candid mind that the charges maintained against Beverley in 1682 by Nicholas Spencer and Nathaniel Bacon of the Council were disingenuous: one is persuaded that he was selected as a scapegoat to excuse the failure of the provincial government to maintain order during Lord Culpeper's absence. The best evidence of this is the official dispatch by Sir Henry Chicheley of August 10, 1682 (*Am. & W. I.*, 1681-85, No. 649), written by one who had long known Beverley well, being his neighbour in Middlesex, viz:

> 'Some of the Council say to my face that I called this Assembly by advice of Major Beverley, who is now in custody on suspicion of raising the late insurrection. They resolve to keep him in close confinement, but so far can allege nothing material against him except some idle words let fall in his cups, on which occasions he is not *compos mentis*. I am sure his behavior in Bacon's Rebellion was far better than that of the best of his accusers [*a shrewd dig at Spencer*]. I thought right to bring this to your notice for I am sure he has been sufficiently blacked in England.'

To this may be added Lord Culpeper's comment in 1683 (*ibid.*, No. 1258, p. 496):

thereafter.[2] When he returned to Virginia he at once enrolled himself (*Journals H. B.*, 1696-1702, p. 10) a volunteer scrivener in the provincial Secretary's office. Here his parts recommended him to his father's friends in the Assembly, with the result that in March, 1692/3, his petition for appointment as Clerk of a legislative committee was approved (*Journals H. B.*, 1660-93, pp. 414, 419) and he was launched on an official career. By 1696 he had achieved the important posts of Clerk of the General Court, Clerk of the Council, and Clerk of the General Assembly (*Council Journal*, i, 285, 350, 353), thereby serving the Council in all its three functions, judicial, executive and legislative.

Under his father's will he inherited a plantation on Poropotank in Gloucester, and by the early death of two younger half-brothers, John and Thomas, this portion was supplemented by a 'great tract' of 6,000 acres of frontier land on the upper waters of the Mattapony, which his father had patented in 1669 (*Patents*, 6: 225) and in his will named Beverley Park. He soon sold the Poropotank lands (he is not listed in the Petsworth quit rent roll 1704); but held on to Beverley Park, which was to be his ultimate residence, cultivating it as a quarter (see the King & Queen quit rent roll 1704) and using it as the basis for soliciting appointments, by his father's neighbour, Secretary Wormeley, to be Clerk of King & Queen; in

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'The prompt action of Nicholas Spencer and Major General Smith in securing the person of Robert Beverley had done more than anything to keep the peace. It was lucky for Beverley, too, for I could find no evidence against him except for general sauciness.'

[2] The evidence for the historian's education in England is a charge to his father's estate in 1694 of payments made to 'Mr. Micajah Perry and Thomas Lane [merchants in London] for entertaining and accommodating' him in England (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 413). It does not appear more definitely where he was at school; but as several of his descendants (*Va. Mag.*, xxi, 213; and *cf.* Neill, *The Fairfaxes of England and America*, 1868, p. 76) were educated at Beverley Grammar School (one of the oldest schools in England, 'still going strong' with a direct tradition of more than 800 years from the time of King Athelstan. See A. F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, 1899, in Yorkshire Archeological Society, *Record Series*, xxvii, pp. xxxix-lvi), it is possible that the historian, too, had that advantage. Indeed, his father, the immigrant, may also have been at Beverley Grammar School and have brought thence to Virginia the name 'Beverley Park,' which he gave to his patent on the Mattapony. Unfortunately, no seventeenth and eighteenth century school lists have survived.

which capacity he is recorded 1699 and 1702. He did not then reside in King & Queen however; his major political duties requiring his attendance at the Statehouse, he acquired, in 1694, a lot in Jamestown (indicated by his name on S. H. Yonge's historical map of Jamestown, 1907) and there established his residence. It was on this footing that he was, in 1699, elected the burgess for the capital and sat in the Assemblies of 1699, 1700-02, and 1705-06. Because of their limited constituency, the recent burgesses for Jamestown had served without the allowances customarily made to members by the counties, but during his second term Beverley demanded and sought to compel that honorarium; with the result that Jamestown returned no burgess for the Assembly of 1703-05. Beverley did not himself suffer for, on the organization of the House for that term, he secured the appointment (*Council Journal*, ii, 300) of the well paid office of Clerk of the House of Burgesses, a post already held by his uncle Peter, his father, and his brother Peter. In that capacity, by showing resourcefulness and readiness to do heavy committee work, he laid the foundation for a bid for the Speakership, unsuccessful by a few votes, when he had composed his difficulty with his constituents and was returned for the ensuing Assembly.

During this period Beverley acquired a stake in Elizabeth City, and in 1700 (*Council Journal*, ii, 126) was added to the quorum in the commission of the peace for that county. He was granted a patent for Point Comfort Island (which the government eventually bought back from his son, when Fort George, the predecessor of Fortress Monroe, was under construction) and he took title by purchase to two adjacent plantations.

In the event the title so acquired in Elizabeth City proved defective and Beverley was involved in a bitter and protracted litigation, ultimately carried on appeal to the Privy Council in England (*Selden v. Turner and Beverley, W. & M. Quar.*, ix, 83; *Acts P. C.* Colonial, ii. 446). It was for this business that he certified to the Council on June 14, 1703 (*Council Journal*, ii, 330) that 'his necessary affairs required his going for England with the first conveniencie,' and secured a pass;

but was required, contrary to his plan, to resign as Clerk of the House of Burgesses.

His sojourn in London during eighteen months cost him heavily in fortune and official reputation, for he not only lost his lawsuit but, by writing indiscreet letters on public affairs, incurred the bitter enmity of Governor Nicholson (*Council Journal,* ii, pp. 391, 414), who promptly deprived him of his sinecure office as Clerk of King & Queen. What was more serious, he lead the Assembly into an address to the Crown preferring what proved to be frivolous charges against Robert Quarry, the Surveyor General of Customs (*Journals H. B.,* 1703-12, pp. 49, 93, 116; *Cal. Am. & W. I.,* 1706-08, pp. 22, 28). It was, however, that sojourn in London which achieved Beverley's enduring reputation, for it was then and there that he wrote his *History and Present State of Virginia.*

In the preface of the second (1722) edition of this book Beverley explains that he was moved to authorship by a bookseller in London who invited his criticism of the MS. of Oldmixon's *British Empire in America,* while it was under consideration for the press; in which he found the account of Virginia jejune, inaccurate, and inadequate. His statement of his equipment for such criticism is that he had with him notes made, for his own use, from 'the public records of my country' during the years he worked among those records; and it may be observed that his sources, now available to us, amply bear out Beverley's claim that he was familiar with them. It appears from the journals of the House of Burgesses that he had been diligent in transcribing, for preservation, the older muniments in the Secretary's office; that after the fire which destroyed the last Statehouse at Jamestown in 1698, it was he who saved, and subsequently re-classified, the accumulated state papers which had been stored in that building; and that to this experience he added the constructive education in the Virginia political tradition implicit in protracted service on the select committee of Council and House which produced the Revisal of the Laws, enacted in 1705; which Virginia lawyers agree was the best piece of work of its kind produced before the American Revolution. What he did not claim is that, pending

his weary waiting on the slow processes of the Privy Council, he had ample leisure for authorship.

For two centuries Beverley's little book has been acclaimed for its lively style, its shrewd observation, its independent judgments, and, most of all, for its originality as owing nothing to contemporary English literary historical style. It is, indeed, a thoroughly American book, racy of Virginia, and opens a wide window upon a period of the colony for which there are few literary testimonies. If Thomas Jefferson found that Beverley's political annals are 'as concise as Stith is prolix,' this animadversion was perhaps not so much disapprobation as a lament, which we echo today, that there is not more; certain it is that as contemporary documents have become available, Beverley has been substantiated in details for which the first modern historians sneered at him; e. g., his account of the capitulation of Virginia to the Commonwealth in 1651. To the value of the other parts of the book there are also competent witnesses. The distribution of three French editions proves the recognition by European scientific opinions of the notes on Virginia flora and fauna; while the specialist editors of the modern standard *Handbook of American Indians* have, without material cavil, checked Beverley's descriptions of the Rappahannock natives against their own observations of the Amerind; and, finally, no subsequent writer on colonial society in the South has been able to avoid quotation of Beverley's searching comments on the habits and customs of the Virginians of his time. In that last respect this book fairly ranks with the writings of the author's more celebrated brother-in-law, William Byrd of Westover.

As a consequence of the rebuke, under the sign manual of Queen Anne herself, which he had brought down upon the Assembly, Beverley suffered political eclipse after his return to Virginia. He lost his seat in the House and had no further effective share in the general government. Still living privately at Jamestown for some years, the Assembly did, indeed, turn to him in 1710 for a special expert clerical service in an emergency (*Journals H. B.*, 1703-12, p. 258), but, though he avowed that he was 'always Ready to serve the Country and this

House,' he stipulated for a fee which the burgesses deemed exorbitant. In 1715 he offered himself once more a candidate for the Jamestown seat, but was unsuccessful at the election and in a subsequent contest (*ibid.*, 1712-26, pp. 140, 141). At this new rebuff he seems to have retired definitely to Beverley Park, in what was then still the wilderness of the Middle Neck. At all events, he sold his Jamestown property (Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 265) and thenceforth appears as a resident of the county of King & Queen, which had been organized in 1691 to include most of the Beverley Park Property. Theretofore maintained as a frontier 'quarter,' Beverley had made of this estate merely a place of vacation sojourn. Thus, soon after Nott had superseded Nicholson as governor, the King & Queen County Court, conscious of having been used as a tool by Nicholson in depriving Beverley of his Clerkship of that County (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1704-05, p. 302), recommended that he be included in their commission, but he was left out at his own request, representing that 'he is not at present a resident in that county.' The rattlesnake and other nature stories introduced into the second edition of the *History* show, nevertheless, that he was now frequently on the frontier; indeed, in January, 1707/8, writing to President Jenings from the 'upper parts of King & Queen,' during an alarm of an incursion by the Tuscarora indians, he offered to 'infort' his house there for the protection of his neighbours (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, i, 110).

After the arrival of Spotswood, Beverley cultivated the acquaintance of that energetic governor and soon found himself once more in executive favor. Spotswood appointed him to be one of the 'Tobo agents' under the abortive act of 1714, and it was in Spotswood's interest and with his support that he contested the Jamestown seat in 1715. Thereafter Spotswood appointed him to a committee for licensing attorneys and, in 1718, after he had declared his residence in King & Queen, to be 'first' or president in the King & Queen commission. It was in consideration of these evidences of favor and friendship that Beverley paid respectful and discriminating compliments to Spotswood in the dedication of his *Abridgement*.

He had meanwhile turned his attention to agricultural experiment, especially to the creation of a producing vineyard. In 1709 this had so far succeeded as to justify a report to the Lords of Trade (*Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1708-09, p. 565) that everybody in Virginia was talking of it, while in June, 1715, John Fontaine, inspecting the vineyard and testing its product at a hospitable table, reported (*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, Putnam's reprint, p. 265) that Beverley was in a fair way to win a bet of a thousand guineas by producing at the seventh season 700 gallons of wine of his own growth; an accomplishment of which he himself boasts in the 1722 edition of the *History*.

The chief events of the remainder of his life were in association with Spotswood. That he accompanied the governor on the transmontane expedition in the summer of 1716 is now accepted as proved; for although it has been questioned whether it was he or his brother Harry who was the 'Mr. Beverley' named by John Fontaine in his *Journal* as one of the original Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, it would seem that Beverley's own testimony is conclusive. In the preface to the 1722 edition of his *History* he challenges Oldmixon's statement, based on 'some old maps,' that the York and Rappahannock rivers 'issue out of low marshes and not from the mountains as other rivers;' and justifies his contradiction by a claim of first hand knowledge, saying: 'I was with our present governor at the head springs of both those rivers, and their fountains are in the highest ridge of mountains.' More than that, it appears from the recitals of a deed of record in Spotsylvania that he was Spotswood's original partner in the famous 'Design of melting and casting of iron,' which earned for Spotswood the title of the Tubal Cain of Virginia.

The new edition of the *History* was, however, Beverley's occupation during the last year of his life. His purpose was, on reflection, to tone down those tart and controversial judgments upon his contemporaries which make the edition of 1705 more amusing to posterity than they can have been to Beverley's contemporary kinsmen and neighbours. He took that occasion also to prepare for publication the private abridgment of the lo-

cal laws and clerical precedents which, like other Virginians (*teste* William Fitzhugh, Philip Ludwell, and, later John Mercer), he had compiled for his own use in the lack of an official publication of the material necessary to the working magistrate. Having done that work, his political ambition flamed again. He offered himself and secured an election as a burgess for King & Queen in the Assembly of 1720-22, but he does not appear to have sat; at all events, a writ was issued on May 9, 1722, for a new election 'in the room of Robert Beverley, Gentl. deceased' (*Journals H. B.*, 1712-26, p. 321). His son later testified (*Va. Mag.*, xxii, 300) that he died at Beverley Park, April 21, 1722, and was there buried. He left a will (it is referred to in *Journals H. B.*, 1712-26, pp. 337, 353), which is lost with the records either of the General Court or of King & Queen County; but it appears from entail acts of 1722 and 1766 (Hening, iv, 116; viii, 227) and the Land Patent books that he had steadily increased his inheritance and passed on to his son one of the largest landed estates in contemporary Virginia.

Robert Beverley, jr., married Ursula, second daughter of the first William Byrd (1652-1704) of Westover (*Cf.* Dr. W. G. Stanard's Byrd pedigree in *Writings of Colonel William Byrd*, ed. Bassett, 1901, p. 447). After a year of marriage she died, October 11, 1698, in her seventeenth year, and was buried at Jamestown (See MI., since destroyed, in Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*), leaving a son, William (1698-1756), who achieved his father's unsatisfied ambition and attained a seat in the Council. This son completed also another cycle his father had begun, for he, too, speculating in land, transcended the mountains; and, so, had the fortune to set on foot the immigration, fateful to Virginia, of the Scotch-Irish out of Pennsylvania up the valley of Virginia, to seat his vast 'Beverley Manor' in Augusta. It was he also who built that notable house, 'Blandfield,' on the Rappahannock, where his descendants persist.

If, for lack of a portrait, we cannot conjure Beverley's appearance, the records enable us to estimate his character. Of his intellectual parts his writings leave no doubt, but the public

muniments do not flatter him in his human contacts. Evidently he did not have the robust conviviality of his father, certainly he lacked the amiability and reticence which carried both his elder brother and his own son further on the colonial *cursus honorum* than his greater ambition was able to take him. Politically, he was a Whig of the school of his father, but, socially, he was a Whig after the pattern of the gentlemen of that persuasion in eighteenth century England. An incidental characterization of him by a witness in court as 'an overbearing man' is perhaps illuminating of his relations with those he considers his inferiors. He had, too, in full measure that least agreeable trait of the governing class of Virginia of his time, a trait which was mitigated and disappeared a generation later in the prosperity Virginia attained when Gooch was consul, namely, an insatiable appetite for small as well as large fees out of the public purse. His iterated claims on the Assembly in that respect evidently wearied those colleagues who most appreciated his intellect and his industry. It was perhaps that avidity which atrophied a political career for which he was otherwise largely equipped.

Bibliography

The literary remains of Robert Beverley, jr., consist of:

I. *The History and Present State of Virginia . . . by a Native and Inhabitant of the Place,* the authorship being further indicated on a frontispiece, engraved by S. Gribelin, as 'by R. B. gent.' This has been printed in six editions, viz: (1) 1705, London, 'for R. Parker,' with an 'Epistle Dedicatory . . . to the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq., Speaker of the H. of Commons and one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State,' and a 'Preface;' (2) 1707, a French translation omitting the Epistle Dedicatory, 'imprimé à Orleans et se vend a Paris chez Pierre Ribou;' (3) 1707, Amsterdam, a pirated edition of the French translation, 'chez F. Lombrail;' (4) 1712, Amsterdam, another pirated edition of the French translation, 'chez Claude Jordan;' (5) 1722, London, 'the Second Edition revis'd and enlarg'd by the Author

. . . for F. Fayram and J. Clarke . . . and T. Bickert,' without the Epistle Dedicatory, but with a new 'preface;' (6) 1855, Richmond, J. W. Randolph, 'reprinted from the author's second revised edition, London, 1722,' with an introduction by Charles Campbell.

II. The mordant political letters from London, written in February, 1703/4, addressed to David Gwyn of Richmond and William Blackbourn of Gloucester; with the first of which was enclosed a 'Narrative' of current events in Virginia. These effusions so stirred Nicholson's wrath that he caused them to be spread on the minutes of the Council (*Council Journal*, ii, 391, 395) and so preserved them for the delectation of posterity. The remainder of that minute is piquant enough for quotation. It shows at once that Beverley was indiscreet, that Nicholson was overwrought, and that the Council were cool and enjoying themselves, viz:

'After reading of which Letter & Narrative His Excellency acquainted the Council that since Mr. Beverley intimates that he has sent other copys of that Memorial Narrative &c into the Country, he thought it necessary to have their advice whether the same, if they should be dispersed may effect the Peace of the Country; Whereupon the Council Declare that it is their opinion that it will not affect the Peace of the Country.

'Then his Excellency caused his opinion thereof to be entered in these words:

'As to Mr. Beverleys letter and Narrative they are part false, part scandalous, & part Malitious, but I could not expect otherwise from a man of his universal ill character but I suppose his Pride, ambition, vanity, unsettledness in all his conditions & his Poverty might make him hope to make a Sedition in the Country. The advice I give him is to get himself close shaved, and make friends with the Governors of her Matys hospital of Bethlem to get a place there: and there he may meet with real chains instead of imaginary ones that I was preparing for her Matys Loyal & dutiful Subjects of Virginia. And as for my own actions I appeal to the several Records of the Country and for what I have written by Letters, I have the copys of them all, and I shall endeavor (God willing) to maintain & Justify them, whenever I shall be legally called to accot. for them.'

III. *The Account of Lamhatty.* This brief MS. (surviving among the Ludwell Papers in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society) is a curious note upon a map drawn by one Lamhatty, a Creek indian, to illustrate a solitary wilderness journey during the summer of 1707 from the waters of the Gulf to the springs of the Mattaponi. It has

been edited, with a reproduction of the map and expert notes, by Mr. David I. Bushnell, jr., in the *American Anthropologist* (1908), x, 569. There is contemporary confirmation of what Beverley recorded, in an official report to the Virginia government by Col. John Walker of King & Queen (*Cal. Virginia State Papers*, i, 118).

IV. *An Abridgement of the Public Laws of Virginia in force and use June* 10, 1720, *to which is added, for the ease of the Justices and Military Officers, etc., Precedents of all Matters to be issued by them peculiar to those Laws; and varying from the Precedents in England*, 1722, London, 'for F. Fayram and J. Clarke . . . and T. Bickerton.'

Beverley's name appears nowhere in the book, but the 'Dedication . . . to His Excellency Alexander Spotswood' is unmistakably in Beverley's style, and the Virginia tradition that it was his book has been constant (*Cf. Va. Mag.*, ix, 273). It will be noted that the publishers were those who also brought out the 1722 edition of the History.

There is an admirable discussion of this little book in *Some Virginia Law Books* by W. H. Martin, Esq., of the Leesburg bar, recently published in the *Virginia Law Register*.

The sources for Beverley's life now available are the public documents heretofore cited, principally the journals of the Council and of the House of Burgesses, pieced out by scraps of surviving county and other records. As he played a smaller part on the Virginia scene than his father and fell on quieter times, there is no such array of papers to testify for him as Hening compiled for his father and published as an appendix to the third volume of his *Statutes at Large*.

The Beverley family, interesting for its sustained public service throughout the colonial period and its marriages with other families of what became, before the American Revolution, a social caste (Armistead, Peyton, Randolph, Robinson, Byrd, Smith of Brandon, Bland, Carter, Tayloe, and Wormeley), is fortunate in having its generations recorded by Dr. W. G. Stanard in a series of papers (*Va. Mag.*, ii, iii, xx, xxi, xxii) which quote fully the appropriate documents and avoid the Virginia foible for uncritical traditions.